ly servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky 273
in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezz (from
a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of [262]
a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, [264]
ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled
meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the
officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to [785]
Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the
remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These [525]
gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion,
will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for 264
its character on whether or not guests are present. If
members of the family are alone, they eat together, men,
women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few
cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat,
and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-
room, the divankhana, or the courtyard. The food is [415]
served in large dishes by the women and these are placed
in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and
plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a
piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence
with social status among the wealthy in this matter,
although the poor always eat with their hands. The head
of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, [782]
Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him.
The servants have their meal after the family is finished.
In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and [574]

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the divankhana or a room neighboring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

its cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
rments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth
ropean jacket. The dress of the children of officials
d officers is much like that of their Kurdish play-
llows, at the same time more European in character,
rticularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and
irts. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large
rt of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the
nter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
unger children are confined to the houses in extremely
ld weather, and the problem for them does not exist.
ere is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden
st put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the
rents insist on the veil whenever they feel the
ighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys,
n adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is
upled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of
ieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in
e eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under con-
iderable pressure to influence the father for money to
ck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
llows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
lleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such
tions to the condemning adjective heladi, "rustic,"
ithough he may retain a certain admiration for the
shing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
t least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Unobserved married woman and educated girl taking sun in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the shaikh houses in Topzawa, Shaikhan, Bergalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Topzawa, Khawa, inlaw Rustem and Bekhle. The police official's house I dwelt in at the fairy town of inlaw Rustem was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Lion capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Kermanshar. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughter had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāv*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a wooden cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāv* in Sulaimani change of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[1]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčā*[2], cf. 2240, about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Rāniya).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high cf., 2270[3], was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Sulaimani. It was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čay-xāne*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made repeatedly for these occasions, is also offered to guests[4], and in the evening contributes much to relaxation and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, *xarre mat* or felt rug, *tāxtā*, cf. 2256) about 1.30 - 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *jar-čāyeyā* (another of persian or kurd[5]) standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical receiver with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the *xwānčakan*, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's receiver is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an ascending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar stand tea glasses about 8 cm. high with upper-brass flowered saucers and spoons[6] by to a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[7]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[8]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is inverted and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the benefit of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of water and dry, sheets of bread folded into quarters to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[M], and, rarely, fried eggs, *kâka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[M], with which is served one or two kinds of *salonze* thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[M], is used as a substitute for rice. Kisi is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[M] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are packed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmjân*[M] or *bâtin*' fingers, and *bâmjân* or *eggplants*[M] plus gherkins, brinjal, beets, carrots, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[M] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is never finely-sliced to make at the morning meal and also grows as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tsapurra, Sulaimani and Bâkhe is rice-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[M]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 68), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gravied. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from stone bowls[a], but forks and knives were not used[b]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is mainly or the less distinguished sort. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2239), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, hand, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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392 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the settlements, both the clay-
354 lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[a]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the tannour. Of other forms of fuel there are
[339] rolls of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[b]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, flat cooker pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was sometimes extremely
394 warm, of up to 38°C (122° F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a tannur. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[a] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open firepiece in the centre; the smoke passes out (on three sides, as the room only has) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[b] refers to "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood cutter a quilt ... formed the "Gorsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Hitchins[c] writes that: "En hiver, pour durcir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret (kursi), on le recouvre d'une couverture[d] et tout le monde se couche dessus ...".

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soapless sand for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water or the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white or brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a or pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the taps. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the metals used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the colored silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming intermittent with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton-stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish women. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal as in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing ironing is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I set in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani.Clay floor, countryside and roofs were swept with a broom, *pexi* (E. 2278), made of two palm leaves set together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembles fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The broom, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is kept in the sky. The dust swept up, the glass and refuse out, for example, in just in a paved run and carried. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered wit a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dust. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacks on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the downdraws who shout, but there is no carpet beating

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Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a permanent fact. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning.The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the façade, [illegible] few chained to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four paved ears. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the cover-sac, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

restored the institution which, as far as I could understand, hardly worked higher than one pantheon of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of ramadān began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from each time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day in a month of a promise to do so[1], following that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the shaikh or Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the sacred and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". One of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the environment urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane: Damascus-Jedda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jedda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (see [2]).

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experiences of their lives and their intangible guidance in matters of [illegible], so Kurdish women must observe certain ceremonial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the hand must never again be henā'ed. The light henā will, should, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowandus

252

Plate 1.
Kurd. Girl churning curd, an operation normally carried out in early June.

248 ✓
262

Plate 2.
Kurd. A routine taken in road. The load consists of [illegible] the whole was given, given, and, as usual, [illegible] road. Note the shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the need of [illegible] the village in the background.

[Opposite page 78 - C]

brothers and hillmen from remote villages--sworn in on a cloth-covered Quran for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little chaykhana or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town. 695 [265]

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Baleki under Mulla Musa Agha, the Barzinet under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Zeaid, the Barti under Fatah Agha, the Barzni under Hajji Nuray Agha, the Khayloni under Salim Agha, the Hamawi under Muhammad Sayidi, the Sartati under Fatah Agha, and the Surchi under Khidir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Baleki, the Barzinet, the Barti, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qaida of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud. 619 622 619 [628]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowandum, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowandux itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowandux, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "Government" chaikhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a bazir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the town-people and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators may times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

ther was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel 701
ude a large number of conscripts assigned there for 563
ining, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equip-
nt, like organization, are derived from the British army, 205
d the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern [177]
m, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be
ught that the district would gain from the supply of such
nit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from
e quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training 202
ld not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see
company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in
nsurree, and in the summer the valleys may resound with
rtillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, 701
d it is from this fact that they exercise an important 517
cial influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting
hose few non-commissioned officers who have homes there,
re not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours
f Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for di-
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owever, enlisted men have much freer access to Rowanduz, 341
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he site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a 265

roadside <u>shebeens</u> between Kwitoka and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Ruwanda keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwitoka, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Ruwanda. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shebeen</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Kigali or England, rather than with Ruwanda itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilise local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Ruwanda and Jiadina, and some fifty men from Ruwanda and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or *chayhi* might be considered first. There are ten *chayKhanay* in the town. That located beside the canal has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings may considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "winner's" *chayKhana* spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a *yard* on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The *yard*, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which to make change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in small-way and alleged served the customers and brought the money to the owner. 265 ● 347 [352] [405] [451]

The etiquette of entering a *chayKhana* varies somewhat according to the personalities of the customers. In 265 576

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," ser-lekum slayim, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," we slayim ser-lekum. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Yilah bikherr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a shaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istikan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some shaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the shaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Koran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A shaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

265 ● 578

265 [495] [272] [262]

[448]

[524]

353 265

another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *shebeen* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of people in the *shebeen*, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The *shebeen*, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the prisoners or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would any army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the soldiers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer a town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. Men of the higher echelons of society is expected to entertain a *Kimushitsya* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *shebeens* will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk of these places being homosexuals (*kaiba kaa*. "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which

(left blank)

ellaire knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a <u>shorkhana</u>. The bus from Kawandus to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain while on over the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them.

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a <u>shorkhana</u>, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain <u>pelaw</u> (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronised the place, save as a <u>shorkhana</u>, and its custom was solely derived from travellers in the town who could find no other place to eat.

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is cut immediately sent to private customers is

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Dalikan has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kebabchi. The kebabchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kebabchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

closed and meshed about a metal skewer (jeng) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (jig). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a gjrilling. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the jebichi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in Kurdi, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or millowners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,

[illegible]

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rwanda.

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Petah-Ellah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Petah-Ellah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 *fils* a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 *dinars* a month. In addition he has a contract with the mayor to furnish prisoners in the jail with bread and stew, at about 60 *fils* for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Petah-Ellah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 *fils* every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 *fils* : 1 Iraqi *dinar* : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per annum		Per annum	
Shop	250 *fils*	6.250	*dinars*	75.000	*dinars*
Rental		4.000	*dinars*	48.000	*dinars*
Contract	200 *fils*	5.000	*dinars*	60.000	*dinars*
Bread	200 *fils*	5.000	*dinars*	60.000	*dinars*
		20.250	*dinars*	243.000	*dinars*
		($56.70)		($680.40)	

Against this, Petah-Ellah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjars (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the court are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tramped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpolished, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Trays, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, the inner wall

There is no electricity in Ruwenda, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few stops or shortbeam open late and a rare door-lantern waving for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ariti Sherifi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jealously attributed by the latter educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the fifteenth caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Rundo of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have an appreciation of its relative purity. Sheikh Agha of Jiadiza, whose father's

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Ruhengeri, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, so it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer houses carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the steeper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open lunettes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and pallets from which the beds are made on the floor, a

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ~~to Fatima~~ [illegible], to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that since a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the soldier's sandal is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Kigali. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the Iwacu, so much a feature of life in Ruhengeri and Byumba times, has largely disappeared in modern Kordofan.[1] Bathing in Rwanda is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the Klog or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1] Nachtigal, 1951, p. 175.

set invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of mat brushes and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used however, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in these poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of the sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The khanabaz or guest-room is necessary for express of social pretension and is found in most cases on the flats

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kurds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer.

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haidaranlu, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of those his furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off."

In 1834 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kurdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatma Hanim. Save for the decoration for which Hamid in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II.

KURDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KURDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains, however, marriages *de convenance* are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet"* signifies with the Kurds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.

The great feature of a Kurdish wedding is the performance of the *tokpee*, or national dance, of which the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

* This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooked with ice or snow.

[Page 131]

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruptice until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a *chaykhana* where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (*tawli* in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or *mastaw* (a mixture of curdled milk, *mast*, and water, *aw*, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow brambles which are constructed into summer arbors

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some greeting from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," ser-helaq sirtan, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," we sirtan ser-helaq. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Xilek bibegr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a shaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some shaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the shaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often have bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A shaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the *chaykhana* has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the *chaykhana* of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in 252
the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there 262
are no means of preserving them, and have little other [351]
preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked
with sugar, ubumi mpome, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three 272 ●
times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more [405]
simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small
glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There
are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that
in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limau guli- [863]
is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor.
Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the [574]
household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of
the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling [263]
water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for
aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee
and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in
small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet
consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although
some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a
tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is
also found in the summer. Yaghut, curdled milk thinned with [853]
water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save
in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed
them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of catalact
fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-house is the girls' [585]
ground floor partitioned by a simple of mud and woven, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, building each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small [594]
drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests here most offerings of food, and the father [431]
of the youth in return favours them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the others, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is [292]
carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white handkerch which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Various chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, [431]
the latter is equipped with a present, a cola or a piece [272]
of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The fundamental consuming, that is, when served with water, is called *dilg*. It is a beverage (above all in summer), that is used daily at a three-quarters and a drink between meals. It is wholesome and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the observing each one. Also the water, stirred by a wooden rod around the walls, it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of materials in Sabarmati storage of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[illegible]. In the villages the drink is offered in greens in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big carved wooden ladle, *kaw*[illegible], cf. 23th, about 0.35 cm. long, of which 0.12 cm. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dilg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse wooden sieve. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be used for the winter base of *Balimbo*.

For making of tea, in the part of Kandiawa in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper *ushpuzen*, tinned outside and inside, with a bamboo lid and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high cf. 23791[illegible], was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Sabalmanti; it was a foreign (Turkish) utensil which I never saw in use. In certain shops along the highroads were a *dyrukka*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, etc. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a commonly refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made especially for these occasions, is also offered as *gaest*[illegible], and to the making accordingly such a ceremonial and circumstances. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

In a rich one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, when not on bit rug. *Shaldi*, cf. 2299) about 1.20 - 0.70 m. in front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *perapul samahar* of glasses or brass[illegible] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of glasses is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the workhouse, or with charcoal heated on a fire, rectangular iron basin with short legs. On the face of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small shelving is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served to an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar instead are glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[illegible] for tea in a tea bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with *granulated sugar* (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces [illegible] by a special sugar hammer[illegible]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[illegible]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is inverted and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the hostess of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of cake and tea, sheets of bread, folded into pockets to be used as spoons when eating the cake[1], and, rarely, fried eggs, tallow, consuming in fashion, the women prepare two more meals in the course of the day. The one is taken a little past noon, the other at about 4 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the morning meal are only to an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, above 100 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is (rice), steamed to haggish[2], with which is served one or two kinds of russian thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled, split, covered with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grains, crushed in a revolving grinder[3], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and mixed before it is covered with boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is kibab—see the Turkish kind[4] consisting of small pieces of meat skewered and grilled—the meat of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, kiteyki[5] or ladies' fingers, and baklajan or eggplant[6] also glutinous, brinjal, bonds, capsicums, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[7] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is never cooked always sliced in water at the morning meal and also given as a sort of fruit, split into small beans covered with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tirgarma, Sokolowsk and Sokha is rice-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[8]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served as a fish dish accompanied by bonds with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two cook bonds with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the cases bonds are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.220-0.240 m. long (8, 22ch, 6", 6ft), for lifting sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable heap of the damji rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

[illegible]

as a dish of bread and peanuts. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from some families, but forks and knives were not [illegible]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is called [illegible] or the less distinguished [illegible]. These are drunk from glasses of red [illegible] with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.45 m. high with a handle on the one side (S. 2289), home-manufactured and slightly [illegible], or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, lined, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a leg sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the sheet on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin over [illegible] turning off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the charcoal cooking earth oven and the wood-cooker cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches broken from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits. The fuel consumptions of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [illegible] of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, the cooker pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimaniyah and in the villages there are petrol stoves in the forest in bigger households, but in all these places they and firelers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was warmer with temperatures of up to 38°C (100 F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cold morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a fire-[illegible] in the wall under a [illegible]. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must ignore the reports of other travellers. [illegible] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre, the smoke passes out (as does ours, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". [illegible] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood cooker a quick ... burned the "tirrez" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". [illegible] writes that: "En hiver, pour donner, on place au-dessus de l'âtre un tabouret (kursi), on le recouvre d'une couverture et tout le monde se couche dessus...".

[illegible] the husband will have the lower mastery in the home"[1]. As explanation I did not have given for the dore offered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the lord and the dore given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture, for Hellenic parlors can, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and death[2].

In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding crowd from the opposite bank in the last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an urbanized milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergences in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several economic strata.

At this wedding the family's were men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed room house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people were unmarried, who both belonged to the urbanized milieu, married some months back in such preference to school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding the house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for the family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and toilet of this quite small house that the ground's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled in some ways because the arrangements of the two rooms and toilet was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister in such an extent that she looked the three arranged rooms: the bedroom, the guest reception room and the small combination room-room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who then all over the place. From reporting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the existing village environment. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accommodate were invited to the groom on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and to finally see to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and sweets, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for the hospitable *hyle* (Leach op. cit., pp. 29—31).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from the ideal — it would be a very important man who were to the expense of keeping an open house in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *hyle* among the Pizdeshwadi will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a right to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to collect a certain room as open-house, playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige ranks by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific title to one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

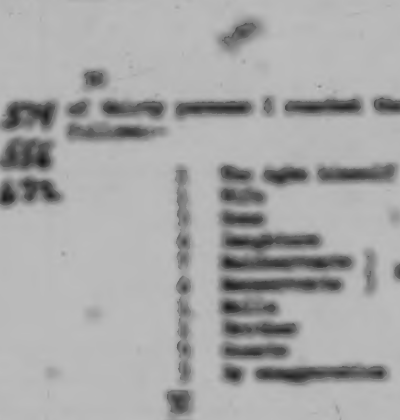
The persons assembling normally in the guestfilled room are the police makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige a

community concerned, and rivalry between members is directed towards one-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. 641 179

Sporting society. An other immediately apparent type of informal group which is commonly formed is that of sporting society. The established town houses a more public and essentially closed society; sporting society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of opponent behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male stranger as well as villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the established community may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who feels in a position to conform. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and sentiments created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from political activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the established manner, they should not show themselves there, and, for example, ox-hewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whose duty rule he interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is dispatched as an informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies considerably, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, 561 573 [121]



In fact it became quite clear that by lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact the expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

However the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the kilning of a hog or two, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the American style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Melanesia. The tea is brewed very strong over sugar and served with extreme quantities of lump sugar. The sugar is bought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served on persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £3/- a bag (of 56 kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Langalo about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £37 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to the host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Ngwa to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite "social exile" continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Ngwa in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship between the Guest House and the Ngwa who host them, the importance of Guest House expenditure to the economics of the group as a whole must

In Chrestomathy 3-4, 5 (pp. [illegible]) 1991
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The country houses of the Khâs are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, closely clustered—quadrangular dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the mândil, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an[illegible] immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of dung[illegible] the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small[illegible] modicum of light with which the interior contents themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few felt carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined; three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a mounted cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a[illegible] number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest[illegible] quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek amphora.[illegible] The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called boza, a liquor called sherbet, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

consumption, all of which are stated in the equations [sec.].

At Salonica, the Turkish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, but the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the selamlik, in one court, and the back, the haremlik, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of lofty leaves shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with vine-trellises, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment in the latter, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Snow, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in colanders, or hovers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the flies, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the selamlik is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

* Examples, in his Traditions, or Sayings of the Mohammedan, mention that the Moslem kept their wives in separate chambers, lib. iv. chap. 6.

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes gasparly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the north no excise and customs directorate which supervises the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinsiba, Sayet, and Mejji there on the Irwaian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Irwa is not large, one of the most important imports being Irwaian rice, and is probably but a fraction of the former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Easterians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Arbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

possible *sleeping* between Europeans and the barrack. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Ruhengeri keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Europeans, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate screen-drinking by enlisted men in Ruhengeri. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and quite loud and unseemly remarks in a *sleeping*. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the laundry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Kabgayi or Bughoki, rather than with Ruhengeri itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Ruhengeri and Biaisa, and some fifty men from Ruhengeri and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The principal crops of the Rowandus area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

241 243 [249] [439] 249 245 [439] 273 231

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowandus makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful woman's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzo in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'araq in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavored with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 273 [701]

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezza (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divankhane, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

that the number of times the name of the deity is enunciated 782
indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet
it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of
irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary
to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle,"
or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone
else present adds, sala Ilahu 'alayhi wa salam, "the prayer
(blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is
mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The 778
volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered
when not in use. An official told how his servant removed
his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking
arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use [273]
of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal
cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used
to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handker-
chief.

The great mosque, Jame'a al-Kabir, in Rowandus is a 946
large, square building of rubble on the central square of
the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla,
the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The
building on its front is raised about six feet above the
square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut
stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of
poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main
room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door,
a small door of the room opening on the porch and large un-
glassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic mu'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

305 The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

pagan, have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

177 771 [688] [273] 668

000 winter sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'rings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

245 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, wide hillsides covered with grape-vines greet the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

• [273] Were Mohammedan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I

554 181 have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting

181 to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae within," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or funduq of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kurdish hospitality.

[1]Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.